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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the progressive education movement and its effect on American Indian education. Progressive education became popular during the late 19th century during the period when American Indian children were being enrolled in Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools. John Dewey, who is considered the father of progressive education, stressed the importance of learning from experience as an alternative to traditional education that was academic in orientation and irrelevant to students. In 1928, the Meriam Report determined that American Indian education was failing according to the principles of progressive education. In 1929, Charles Rhodes, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, echoed the Meriam Report, and recommended that local materials and daily experiences be used to teach American Indian students. He also asked that elementary teachers encourage their students to write about their customs, legends, and economic and social activities. This focus on active learning marked the beginning of a new philosophy that would influence American Indian education during the next several decades. Others areas that were strongly influenced by the progressive education movement included the implementation of methods for teaching English and reading that were relevant to Indian students' life experiences, development of bilingual and English as a Second Language programs, use of thematic units, and replacement of boarding schools with community schools. By the 1950s, progressive education was in decline in BIA schools due to criticisms of its methods, decentralization of governance, and budget cuts. This paper suggests that the educational practices implemented during the progressive education movement have merit, and that contemporary educators should examine past educational trends to learn what works in American Indian education and avoid repeating past mistakes. Contains 32 references. (LP)

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Native Education Research Symposium
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Institutional memory is one way that educators have to continue successful teaching practices and prevent repeating past mistakes. Institutional memory has not been one of the highlights of American Indian education with its history in the last quarter century of political instability in Washington and high staff turnover in the field. The seriousness of the problem can be seen from Gary Plank's recent study of Navajo schools where he reported a yearly teacher turnover rate ranging from a high of 57% to a low of 25% and 77% of new teachers getting no orientation to Indian education: "They hired me over the phone you know. I looked good on paper. I didn't know they didn't speak English too much and had to learn a different language. I didn't know it was a boarding school and that was a surprise" (as quoted in Plank, 1993: 30-31).

These teachers, hired from the outside, often with the best of intentions implement a curriculum that is largely irrelevant to the special problems faced by Indian students and their special needs. At best, they go through a sometimes painful learning experience and adapt what they learned from the non-Indian teacher training programs they graduated from. At worst, they persevere in culturally inappropriate behaviors or ended up quickly calling it quits, starting the cycle over again. This educational malpractice needs to be brought to a halt. One way to help stop the cycle is to try to hang on to educational practices that have historically shown promise in Indian education.

As we see educational movements such as Whole Language wax and wane both in and out of Indian education, it is useful to look at and learn from what happened to past movements such as Progressive Education that also came and went in Indian education and to see what can be done to pass on this knowledge from the past to new teachers. Indian education started to become professionalized with the passage of Civil Service reforms at the turn of the century. Indian Service teachers were for the first time being hired for their knowledge, though not their knowledge of Indians and Indian education, using the Civil Service examination. The superintendent of Indian schools at the turn of the century, Estelle Reel, promoted a uniform curriculum for Indian schools, regional summer training institutes for Indian Service teachers, and even at a special Indian division at the annual meetings of the National Education Association. This professional approach to education was part of a nationwide attempt to improve schools that became known as Progressive Education.

Progressive Education

Progressive Education became popular at the same time more and more Indian children were being enrolled in schools. However, the BIA schools became increasingly underfunded during the 1930s (sounds very contemporary does it not) and came under scathing criticism. A government sponsored report, commonly known at the Meriam Report, issued in 1928 examined BIA education from a Progressive Education perspective and found it failing Indian children.

In 1929 Charles Rhodes, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, echoed the Meriam Report, emphasizing local material and the use of Indian daily experiences in teaching students, and he explicitly mentioned the progressive education movement in his 1930 annual report where he wrote "Emphasis is being placed upon the importance of basing all early primary reading on words that already have a place in the children's speaking vocabulary" (*ARCIA*, 1930: 9). He also declared "All Navajo schools now have native weavers who teach blanket weaving to girls" (*ARCIA*, 1930: 11). The next year Rhodes encouraged elementary teachers to urge their students

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"to write about their own Indian life, and to depict their own customs, their own legends, their own economic and social activities (*ARCIA*, 1931: 7).

The president of the Progressive Education Association said in 1930 that "the child rather than what he studies should be the centre of all educational effort and that a scientific attitude toward new educational ideas is the best guarantee of progress" (Fowler: 159). Like Whole Language today, advocates of progressive education maintained that it "could not be defined, that it was a 'spirit,' a 'method,' an 'outlook,' a 'matter of emphasis'" (Cremin, 1961: 258). John Dewey, considered the father of Progressive Education, saw it as an alternative to traditional education that was academic in orientation and divorced from the realities students faced. At the University of Chicago he found the first laboratory school to test out his theories. The problems he faced are indicated by a story he tells about trying to furnish his new school. All the desks at the school supply houses were designed for students to sit passively listening and studying whereas Dewey was interested in getting furniture where students could be active learners (Dewey, 1900). Dewey is most famous for his dictum "learning by doing," which fits in with modern research about learning.

The February 1932 issue of the journal *Progressive Education* was devoted to Indian education and the lead article was written by W. Carson Ryan, Jr., and Rose K. Brandt, respectively the director of education and the supervisor of elementary education for the United States Indian Service. They declared that summer school training for Indian service teachers should include:

> 1. Environmental experiences of children as a basis for school procedure and curriculum content.
> 2. Philosophy of progressive education, basing school work on activities and at the same time recognizing and providing opportunities for various learning outcomes rather than beginning and ending teaching procedures mainly with subject matter. (Ryan & Brandt, 1932: 83)

In the same issue Nancy Heger, a teacher at Eastern Navajo School, Crown Point, New Mexico, in her article "Before Books in an Indian School" saw the school lunch as the place to start teaching English, with students learning names for utensils and different kinds of food. She also notes how,

> The sand table provides another center of never-failing interest an opportunity for vocabulary building. Here are constructed houses such as we live in, barns, schoolhouse, sidewalks, windmill, stores, chicken houses, pens, fences, troughs, trees, tanks, church, garages, trucks, cars--all illustrative of the school and agency or the home community.
>
> Usually, the first sand-table scene consists of the school village. (1932: 143)

Helen Lawhead, a first grade teacher at the Theodore Roosevelt Boarding School at Fort Apache, Arizona, wrote about "Teaching Navajo Children to Read." She noted that Navajo students should not be expected to learn to read English without first developing some oral English vocabulary. Students would often read aloud well yet not comprehend what they were reading. She declared that "The child's own experiences should form the basis of his reading materials" (1932: 133). She wanted reading material with "simple sentences" and "plenty of action." Her students would make original drawing for their favorite stories and would dramatize scenes from them. She also used a sand table to "make the story."

Sand tables were not new to Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools in the 1930s They were used extensively in one room BIA Day Schools on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations in South Dakota at the turn of the century. The 1903 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (*ARCIA*) contained a description of the sand table, a waist high sand box, used for teaching primary students. Older students used it to teach primary students, probably as a way to save money: "The table is arranged like a home with irrigating ditch, ridge, fence posts made out of clothespins, house, etc. The pupil teacher says to the class, say 'the horse,' then 'the horse runs,'

etc." (*ARCIA*, 1903: 376-377). The table was changed to suit the seasons of the year. Estelle Reel in the 1904 annual report again described the "sand table" and "teaching objectively" (i.e., using objects) as working well and called for teachers to find out about their students' homes and home life, interests, and individual characteristics. This description of using objects is remarkably similar to the "realia" Edwina Hoffman talks about in her chapter "Oral Language Development" in my 1992 book *Teaching American Indian Students*.

According to Reel in the 1905 annual report,

> It was found that the most successful teachers worked objectively altogether, using articles with which the pupils were familiar and gradually bringing them to associate the English name of the object, spoken and written, with the object itself; many teachers were adhering too closely to text-books." *ARCIA*, 1905: 397)

Her office distributed sample lessons to teachers to improve instruction. The 1905 Report also described the setting up of print shop in the Albuquerque Indian School as a means of getting students to learn to write. Chilocco, another boarding school, was described as having the most extensive print shop in the Indian Service:

> A new plan for teaching language has been put into practice the past year. . . . The teacher of language and her class are constituted the staff -- editors and reporters -- of a weekly journal. They gather news all about the school and bring it to the classroom, where it is itemized and paragraphed. Criticisms are made. The paragraphs are boiled down to make them concise and simple . . . sent to print shop edited and corrected" (*ARCIA*, 1905: 428).

Heger also recommended games to teach vocabulary. In a section titled "Language Experiments of Children" contributed by Rose Brandt, the 1932 special issue had the following information:

> The children talk over their experiences in group discussion, the teacher keeping a written record on the blackboard of their comments. These are later presented to the children to be read on large charts or in the form of booklets which have been hektographed or written on typewriters having Primer type faces. (Language, 1932: 154)

Two examples of first grade stories from Toadlena, New Mexico were given:

> Navajo Father
>
> Navajo father wears a shirt and pants. Navajo father wears a green head band. He wears red kil'chi on his feet. He wears a blanket to keep him warm. Navajo father wears blue ear rings. He wears beads on his neck.
>
> Navajo father works. He plows the ground. He plants corn and watermelons. He makes the hogan. He chops the tree. He chops wood. He takes care of goats and sheep. He rides the horse.
>
> Navajo Mother
>
> Navajo mother wears a Navajo dress. A Navajo dress is a long dress. She wears beads on her neck. She wears shoes on her feet. Sometimes she wears kil'chi on her feet. She wears ear rings in her ears. She wears stockings. Navajo mother wears no head band. Navajo mother wears long hair. She ties it with a string.
>
> Navajo mother works. She makes bread. She cooks corn, meat, potatoes, coffee, and pumpkins. The Navajos eat it. She makes the blanket. She makes kil'chi and a cradle. She makes a dress and shirt for father. She rides the horse. (Language, 1932: 154)

In a 1935 article in the BIA publication *Indians at Work*, Brandt described in an article titled "We Make Our Own Books" how older kids wrote books for younger students to get vocabulary familiar to the students. She described a book written by fourth graders at Todalena that had chapters on home life, history, customs, ceremonials, and legends.

Ryan's replacement as the Indian Service's Director of Education in 1936 was Willard Beatty, a former president of progressive education association, who continued John Dewey's and the Progressive Education Association's emphasis on learning from experience and the development of community schools. In his memoirs, Indian commissioner John Collier (1963) was appreciative of the environmental and conservation curriculum that Beatty introduced into the schools. Collier (1963) noted in his autobiography that "Beatty began to build activities in the Indian day schools around the conserving and using of natural resources." He also noted that he and Beatty "intended that school life become bilingual, and that the schools should serve adult and child alike" (195-196). According to Collier, Beatty "scoured" the Navajo reservation recruiting Navajo teachers, Navajo assistants, and translators. However, Collier's educational policies that included religious freedom antagonized missionaries and their assimilated Indian students, especially on the Navajo reservation where Jacob Morgan, who had attended Hampton and gone on to become a Protestant missionary and then the first elected tribal chairman of the Navajos in 1938, led the opposition to Collier's policies (Boyce, 1974; Philp, 1986). Morgan who served as an Indian service teacher before going into missionary work and politics, is described by the historian Donald Parman as a "moralistic fundamentalist" who hated day schools, opposed bilingual education, and as a missionary warned Navajos repeatedly not to become Catholic because then "they would be shipped overseas to fight the Pope's wars" (1976: 19).

Morgan's local attack on Collier was an echo of a nation-wide attack. The American Indian Federation formed in 1934 to discredit Collier described his administration as "an atheist-communist international conspiracy" (Parker, 1992). Despite this criticism, historians are able to look back today and see the results of Collier's policies. According to Szasz (1977), Beatty started some of the first bilingual and English as a Second Language (ESL) training programs in the United States. Beatty's efforts led to the publication by the BIA of Young and Morgan's (n.d.) *The Navaho Language: The Elements of Navaho Grammar with a Dictionary in Two Parts Containing Vocabularies of Navaho and English* and the *Indian Life Series* of bilingual pamphlets.

Both Beatty and Collier were aware of other countries' educational approaches to aboriginal education, especially Mexico's, and foreign criticism of the United States' treatment of its native population. Summer Institutes were held to give teachers special training in teaching Indian students, and a bimonthly bulletin, *Indian Education*, was started by Beatty shortly after he became the BIA education director to disseminate his policies and new educational methods. In 1941 a Hopi teacher, Polingaysi Qöyawayma, was chosen to demonstrate her teaching methods to other BIA educators at a summer training institute. She had found that her method of educating children starting "from what they already know, not from a totally new, strange field of experience" reduced the chance her students would withdraw into a shell (1964: 151 & 174). She wrote a friend the same year:

> If the teachers to the Hopi or other tribes would come to them [their students] with human interest and love and take them for what they are and where they are and begin from their world with them results would be success. There should be less teacher dominance and theories. . . . teacher and child should meet on mutual ground. (1941, 51)

Florence Little, one of the first Navajo "college graduate" teachers, took a similar approach. She used words such as *yucca, piñon*, and *hogan* as her initial English vocabulary for her beginning students rather than *post office, bank*, and *skyscraper* (Boyce, 1974).

Another approach used in the progressive era was what is today called thematic units. A detailed example of such a unit on boats from about 1920 is reproduced by Cremin (1961) from the Lincoln School, a laboratory school at Teachers College, Columbia University. A study (MacGregor 1964) of the Pine Ridge Sioux in the 1940s reported that the "project method" of

progressive education used in schools there was very successful. Projects allowed students to work cooperatively as they did at home and for bilingual students to translate for students who spoke no English. Today, this project method goes under names such as the explorer curriculum, enterprises, and the like (McCarty & Schafer, 1992).

New Schools:

Another facet of Progressive education was that schools should be for the whole community and not separate chidlren from their parents. The Meriam report concluded,

> The philosophy underlying the establishment of boarding schools, that the way to "civilize" the Indian is to take Indian children, even very young children, as completely as possible away from their home and family life, is at variance with modern views of education and social work, which regard the home and family as essential social institutions from which it is generally undesirable to uproot children. (1928: 403)

Collier agreed with this philosophy and called for the closing of boarding schools and the opening of more day schools. He was able to use money poured into putting Americans unemployed by the Great Depression back to work to build day schools with Public Works Administration (PWA) money that had to be spent quickly. One and a half million dollars of PWA money was spent to build 40 day schools (Parman, 1976). In 1934, these new days schools were described in the Indian Bureau's newsletter *Indians at Work:*

> the new 'day schools" are to be real community centers, primarily concerned with the fundamental economic and social problems of the Navajos. Child education will not be their dominant function, but rather the creation and focusing of group thought and group activity on the pressing problems of erosion control, stock reduction, grazing management, public health, social organization, relations to white culture and the intensifying and widening of Navajo economic activities in such enterprises as subsistence farming and arts and crafts, as well as the maintenance of the native Navajo culture. (Shepard: 9)

As an educational experiment four of the new day schools were built in a hogan design at Mariana Lake, Cove, Navajo Mountain, and Shonto (Parman, 1976). Elizabeth Hegemann described the hogan schools built at Shonto in 1934 as follows:

> The hogan-type rooms were grouped in twos and threes connected by covered cement walks, and modern windows let in the bright sunshine and plenty of fresh air. The children smiled when they looked up at the juniper ceilings and felt at ease, it was not so frightening to be in school after all. The first resident teachers like the layout of these rooms and found the living quarters very comfortable. (1963: 380)

Hogan schools of similar design are still being used for classes today at Crystal Boarding School north of Window Rock. Hogan schools were one solution to the problem of finding classroom space for the half of all Navajo school-age children not currently in school. It addition, the cost a educating a Navajo child in a day school was estimated by Collier to be a third of what it cost to keep the same child in a boarding school.

Fifty young Navajos were idealistically chosen to receive training at Red Rock Cove to be teachers in October 1934. Their classes stressed land use, community relations, health, and tribal culture, but both a Navajo cultural preference for older teachers and lack of formal college training ended up relegating them to supportive rather than leadership roles in the new schools (Parman, 1976). Despite their best intentions, the day schools never reached capacity owing to the dispersed living arrangements of Navajos and the unpaved, unimproved roads on the reservation

The modern equipment put in the schools as well as the school buses were difficult to keep in repair owing to the long distances the schools were from any city where knowledgeable specialists could be found to perform repairs (Kneale, 1950). In the interest of economy and

authenticity adobe was used instead of cement to put together the day schools, and, over time, the adobe washed out from between the stones, causing major difficulties. After 10 years of experience, Beatty (1951) concluded that day schools were not feasible on the Navajo Reservation.

One of the most interesting experiments of the Collier administration was the hiring of anthropologists and other experts as consultants to the BIA and using them as educational consultants. For example, Gladys Reichard from Barnard College was commissioned by Collier to run a summer institute to teach Navajo writing to 18 Navajo interpreters ranging in age from 22 to about 55 near Ganado (Lockard, 1995). She fictionalized an account of her experience in *Dezba: Woman of the Desert*:

> The school was held in a hogan during the summer months and consisted only of a teacher and adult Navajo students with pencils, paper and a blackboard. . . . its purpose was to deal with educational problems with equipment available to even the most isolated Navajo. . . .
>
> As the Hogan School continued it became clear that the students most needed education in subjects which were taught only in colleges and universities, although only two of them had the equivalent of a high school training and that was vocational, not academic. Students were interested in the history of Indians, botany, forestry, agronomy, zoology, animal husbandry, geology, law, linguistics and the like. (Reichard, 1939: 130 & 136)

The End of Progressive Education

As time went on, Progressive Education came under more and more criticism. Even Willard Beatty became disenchanted with the movement as it traveled on the road to advocating "life adjustment" classes and a de-emphasis on academics. In a 1946 pamphlet Mrs. Charles Dietrich, president of the New Mexico association on Indian Affairs wrote that the Navajo leaders,

> ask for the same system of education as provided for white children. they are not satisfied with Progressive Education as it has been demonstrated on the reservation during the past ten years. Progressive education demands specially gifted or trained teachers not always available for isolated spots on the reservation. (as quoted in Boyce, 1974: 164)

A long-time Indian Service employee Albert Kneale scathingly criticized the new Progressive Education in Navajoland in his autobiography:

> under no circumstances should a pupil in an Indian school be punished. . . . Truant officers must go; children must not be compelled to attend school; the school would be made so pleasant, the instructress would be so talented, work would be so completely eliminated, play would have such a prominent part, as to transform the school into a fairy land, a place of enchantment. No labor either physical or mental would be required, in fact, nothing would be required; everyone would do precisely as he or she wished and, all in all, it would be such a paradise that the children would flock to it. (1950: 130-131)

In 1949 Hildegard Thompson, who supervised all Navajo education programs, justified BIA teaching methods when Navajos demanded that their children to get the same type of education as white children:

> Once, an entire day was spent with the Navajo Tribal Council explaining the methods used in teaching English to non-English-speaking Navajo beginners. Many Navajos at that time were critical of methods used in federal schools. Teachers provided a variety of first-hand experiences, much of which was in the form of play, to make oral English meaningful to small Navajo-speaking beginners. This did not look like good teaching to some Navajos. I used a pictorial chart showing the early experiences and language learning of two children -- one learning in Navajo, the other in English. After sketching the learning experiences of each child to age six, I put the picture of the Navajo child beside the picture of the English-

> speaking child, each shown with a speaking vocabulary of 2,000 words, and I simultaneously removed from the mouth of the Navajo child all of the Navajo vocabulary in which he had learned to converse. Then I explained that both children entered school and that the child had to learn to talk in the language of the school -- English -- but that the English-speaking child was six years ahead of him in English language. I then showed some of the materials and toys which Barbara Henderson, a Navajo who taught at Beclabito, used to help overcome the English language deficit of Navajo beginners; and I explained how she used the materials. "This might seem that she was letting children play," I pointed out, "but she uses the children's play to teach them enough English so that they can begin their primary grade work." (Thompson, 1975: 13)

After leaving Navajoland Thompson took over from Willard Beatty in Washington, D.C. Beatty resigned in 1952 in frustration when the Bureau was decentralized and he lost direct authority over the BIA's educational system to the Area Directors who were not educators and who reported directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. At the end of his term in office Navajo-English bilingual beginning readers were being printed at Phoenix Indian School. He wrote in the preface to *Little Man's Family: diné yázhí ba'álchíní* that: "These bi-ingual texts are an attempt to speed up Indian understanding of modern life. Use of native languages to speed up acquisition of English in Federal schools is a new departure in Indian policy, which has proved very successful" (1950: 2).

The historian Margaret Connell Szasz (1977) marks Thompson's accession to the directorship as the start of a decline in BIA educational programs. With reduced authority, she was forced to compromise more, and Beatty is reported to have remarked that Thompson could "bend farther without breaking than anyone I have ever seen" (Szasz 1977: 124). When she left office in 1965 the decline in BIA educational programs became precipitous. The positions of Commissioner of Indian Affairs (which in 1977 was changed to Assistant Secretary of the Department of Interior for Indian Affairs) and Director of the Office of Indian Education Programs became revolving doors with each new appointee staying in office for at most only a few years. The central office curriculum support staff was reduced, and then shifted to a regional center in Albuquerque. Later, with budget cuts, what remained was for all practical purposes eliminated, leaving no real support for BIA funded schools for English as a second language (ESL) or other training other than that provided by Chapter 1 and Special Education staff.

Thompson wrote in 1965 about experiments going on at Rock Point (later one of the first community-controlled schools with a strong bilingual program) and Shiprock, which she said affirmed the Bureau's basics principles and premises on which the BIA's English language program for the primary grades:

> 1. The development of spoken English precedes the development of English reading and writing skills. The Bureau sets aside the first year of school for the development of oral English, and oral English is emphasized throughout the grades. . . .
> 2. Spoken English in the early elementary grades should be developed in association with classroom, home, and community experiences. This practice recognizes that language learning accrues from experience, and in the beginning from concrete experiences.
> 3. Experiences provide the meaning content of language. Oral English expression should be welded to meaning since expression and meaning are inseparable in the communication of thought. Patterned drill is important to establish English patterns of expression, but patterned drill is undertaken in close association with meaning.
>
> To summarize, oral language development requires that the individual learn to recognize and then to produce the complete sound system of English, to make the correct association between meaning and expression, and to make English patterns of expression a matter of habit. (3)

Thompson asked teachers to ask themselves these questions "Am I relating my oral English teaching to firsthand experiences? Do I make use of the everyday things children do at school, and do I provide children with a wealth of experiences to enrich their background?" (3).

Conclusion

The passage in 1968 of the first bilingual education act to provide money for special programs to teach students English and the 1974 Lau v. Nichols Supreme Court decision that required either bilingual or ESL instruction be provided limited English proficient (LEP) students has led to renewed interest in developing special programs to teach reading to Indian students. Today, states such as Arizona have ESL and bilingual coursework requirements for teachers of LEP students that at least partially take the place of on-site inservice training. But "weekend wonder" courses provided for bilingual and ESL endorsements have been criticized for just giving students a few "make it and take it" activities for their classroom and lacking unifying theory on topics such as second language acquisition, and campus-based university courses have been criticized for too much theory, too little practice, and too much of an adolescent and adult ESL focus.

Individual teachers still are doing great things in Indian education, and others are still committing educational malpractice. I recently talked to a high school science teacher who enthusiastically described a project on diabetes his students did. They researched the subject and then set up informational booths at community events to educate others about diabetes. However, this same teacher described colleagues that were proud of the fact they had "high standards" for their Navajo students and consequently failed half of them.

Despite the progress being made, Indian students still, as a group, have below average test scores and a school dropout rate double the national average. Various panaceas have been put forward that have been described in two 1994 *Journal of Navajo Education* articles: my "Restructuring Navajo Schools" and Steve Pavlik's "Fads, Gimmicks, and Buzzwords: Critical Commentary on the Restructuring of Navajo Education." I hope in this brief review, I have given some hints as to the perennial truths about "what works" for Indian students that can help educators today examine more critically our modern educational fads.

As a start towards becoming more sophisticated consumers of new educational ideas, I would suggest that teachers and administrators read some of the books I have cited in this article to find out more about the history of Indian education. Margaret Connell Szasz's *Education and the American Indian: The road to self-determination since 1928* (1977) is a good starting place. Hildegard Thompson's *The Navajos' Long Walk for Education: A History of Navajo Education* (1975) published by Navajo Community College is an interesting account of Navajo educational issues written by a former Bureau of Indian Affairs' director of education. Elizabeth White's (Polingaysi Qöyawayma's) *No Turning Back: A Hopi Indian Woman's Struggle to Live in Two Worlds* (1964) is an interesting account of her experiences both as a student and a teacher.

I also suggest that new teachers take classes at a tribal college as I did twenty five years ago and explore the graduate programs in universities such as the University of New Mexico and Northern Arizona University that now have graduate coursework in Indian and bilingual education. Professional organizations such at the National Indian Education Association, TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), and the National Association for Bilingual Education are also sources of information for teachers.

Finally, in the best tradition of Whole Language, teachers can have their students interview parents and grandparents about their school experiences and what they found to be good and bad about their education. These interviews can be written up and become local school histories to be shared with new teachers and the community. In these ways both institutional and community memories can be preserved and used to better schools and communities.

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